

Super Spy, Strange Ally

Books

Reviewed by
Arthur M. Cox

GEHLEN: Spy of the Century. By E. H. Cookridge.

(Random House, 402 pp., illustrated, \$10.00)

THE GENERAL WAS A SPY: The Truth About General Gehlen and His Spy Ring. By Heinz Hohne & Hermann Zolling. Introduction by Hugh Trevor-Roper and Preface to the American Edition by Andrew Tully.

Reinhard Gehlen was a Nazi general with an obsessive hatred of communism who may have had more influence on the course of the Cold War than any other man. Soviet articles refer to him as a fascist warmonger who was the biggest single factor in the prevention of an East-West detente. These two books tell his extraordinary story.

From late 1941 to the end of the war Gehlen was Hitler's chief of intelligence for the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe. Then, having arranged to be captured by the Americans, he soon emerged as the principal source of CIA intelligence from the communist world until 1955, when he became Chancellor Adenauer's chief of intelligence for the West German Republic.

Gehlen was one of the planners of "Operation Barbarossa," the 1941 German attack on the Soviet Union, which sent Nazi divisions six hundred miles into the U.S.S.R. in seven weeks, placing 50 million Russians under Hitler's rule. When Gehlen became chief of intelligence for the Eastern Front, he immediately began organizing a Russian Army of Liberation among anti-Communist prisoners of war and partisans. By the spring of 1943 he had organized this army under Soviet Gen. Andrei Vlassov, who had been captured by the Germans and turned against Stalin. Vlassov and Gehlen estimated that there were hundreds of thousands of anti-Communist Russians prepared to join with the Germans in the overthrow of Stalin.

But Gehlen's plans ran head-on against Hitler's view that the Slavs were sub-human beings who should be controlled by terror and mass execution. At

first Vlassov's propaganda leaflets promising good treatment to deserters and employment in the Vlassov movement produced massive defections, but soon Hitler's ruthless treatment of the Russians brought an end to that. Had Hitler not been a maniac, it is conceivable that Gehlen's plans would have provided the basis for a German victory in the East, certainly a substantial prolongation of the war.

Gehlen remained loyal to Hitler, but seeing how the war would end he made plans for his future. He arranged to have all his intelligence files on the Soviet Union packed in 50 steel cases and hidden away until he could be captured by the U.S. Army. As Stalin's aggressive program in Eastern Europe, the Balkans and Iran began to unfold, it was apparent to the Americans that they were totally unprepared, without intelligence about the Soviets. But Gehlen was prepared and had soon negotiated a remarkable deal in Washington giving him authority to establish an all-German intelligence apparatus with complete control over its personnel.

In the little village of Pullach outside of Munich in a large housing development formerly for SS officers, Gen. Gehlen built a walled-in headquarters for what was soon to become the spy base of the Cold War, providing the CIA with 70 per cent of its intelligence on the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe. Thus, in a matter of months Hitler's chief anti-Soviet spy had become the Soviet expert for the United States.

There can be little doubt that the Soviets, fearing the Germans more than any other people, have been influenced in their assessment of

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U.S. policy by the fact that Gehlen was selected for this role. But there can be little doubt too that given Stalin's aggressive moves the U.S. would use the only available source of intelligence. Probably the revisionist historians of the Cold War will be debating for years the essence of the conclusion E. H. Cookridge reaches in his book: "Whether we like it or not, Western democracy must be prepared in times of danger to accept such strange allies as Reinhard Gehlen in defense against totalitarianism."

According to Cookridge, who is a British author of many fine books on espionage, the CIA pumped over \$200 million into the Gehlen organization. But the results more than paid off. Among its sensational exploits were the accurate forecasts of the East German uprisings in 1953, the Hungarian revolt in 1956, and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Gehlen secured the text of Khrushchev's secret speech denouncing Stalin, and gave it to Allen Dulles. His intelligence operations exposed some of the most successful Soviet secret agents. His plans led to the 600-yard tunnel the CIA dug into East Berlin, where the main telephone trunk lines leading to Moscow and other capitals in Eastern Europe were tapped for nine months until this incredibly successful operation was discovered. In June, 1967, CIA Director Richard Helms was able to make high marks from President Johnson by predicting the exact date of the six-day Israeli attack in the Middle East. His source: Gen. Gehlen.

It wasn't until he became head of German intelligence that Gen. Gehlen had defeats mixed with his successes. The Communists be-

came more effective in penetrating his organization and planting fake information. But the greatest blow to Gehlen was the discovery in 1962 that his chief of counter-intelligence, Heinz Felfen, was a Soviet double agent. The Felfe Affair, combined with changes in German political leadership and the new technology of spy planes and satellites all contributed to the fading impact of Gehlen. He retired in 1968 at 65.

Gehlen probably was the "spy of the century," but his rightist proclivities and rigid anti-communism probably contributed to prolonging the most dangerous period of the Cold War and may have slowed the evolutionary political process in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe. A proponent of revolution not evolution, he believed that all communism was bad and dreamed of war between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. He had no sympathy for national communism, Titoism, and revisionism. He didn't seem to believe that the political process in Moscow and Eastern Europe would allow for a struggle for power between the rightist Stalinists and the anti-Stalinist revisionists. Even after the advent of Khrushchev his operations continued to give weight to the arguments of those Communist leaders who most feared the Germans and who were most opposed to relaxing the Stalinist tactics of tyranny and terror.

Both of these books are lively reading, well documented and cover essentially the same events. The Cookridge book is better organized and better written, but spy buffs may enjoy the operational detail of "The General Was A Spy" by Hohne and Zolling, two German newsmen who write for Der Spiegel.

STATINTL

17 AUG 1971

Armed workers' march hails Wall's 10 years

By BEATRICE JOHNSON

BERLIN, Aug. 16 — With a parade through the center of Berlin down the famous Unter Den Linden, to the new spacious Karl Marx Alle, armed workers, the people's militia from the factories and institutions of the capital of the German Democratic Republic and its surroundings last Friday marked the 10th anniversary of the anti-fascist protective wall against West Berlin. Hundreds of thousands of citizens, men, women and children, lined the streets to cheer such slogans as, "We Stand Guard," and "Ten Years of Peaceful Labor" as the armed workers, young and old, marched to the music of many bands.

The most frequent refrain came from the old song, "On to Struggle, to Struggle We Were Born," honoring the memory of Karl Liebknecht, workingclass leader murdered after the first World War, whose hundredth birthday is this month.

Speakers told how the Wall helped save the fruits of socialist labor, how it saved the borders from bloodshed, how the period of peace helped develop industry.

While the discussions between the USSR, the U.S., Britain and France continue to seek a solution to some of the problems around West Berlin, the reactionary press in both West Berlin and West Germany is heating up tensions, misrepresenting the reasons for the Wall's existence. They call it the "Wall of Shame." But in reality it is an answer to their own policy of hostility and revanchism, with West Berlin as the center of subversion.

Invasion plot shattered

On August 13, 1961, when the Wall was established, West German neo-nazis and their supporters had to give up the dream of marching NATO troops through the Brandenburg gate and de-

stroying the first socialist state in German history. On that morning the armed workers, the people's militia stood guard.

passed without some provocation, such as the shooting of a border guard, or some sabotage. These aggressive actions were masterminded by West Germany's strong man, Franz Josef Strauss, then Minister of War of the Federal Republic of Germany, backed by John Foster Dulles, then U.S. Secretary of State, and the CIA, which built a network of spying and subversive agencies in West Berlin.

On July 1961, Strauss openly declared that for him and the Federal army "the Second World War is not over."

Plans were completed to use the open frontier with West Berlin for invasion.

Seven divisions poised

Nazi General Heusinger made it known he had seven divisions ready to march east.

Large-scale maneuvers were scheduled on the GDR border at the end of August, 1961.

Recalling these events, General Heinz Hoffmann, Defense Minister of the GDR, wrote in last Fri-

day's issue of Neues Deutschland that the NATO armies were on the alert that summer in 1961, threatening the use of atom bombs.

"They hoped to frighten the members of the newly-built Warsaw Pact, and break them away from the GDR," he pointed out.

The Warsaw Pact countries, however, undertook measures to frustrate the plans of NATO, to defend the GDR and to save the peace of Europe. They decided that the armed forces of the GDR should take control of the frontier bordering West Berlin.

On the morning of Aug. 13, 1961 a protective wall ringing West Berlin was constructed, and armed workers stood guard at the Brandenburg gate, the main entrance to West Berlin.

At last Friday's parade, this reporter asked a Chicago trade unionist who happened to be on a tour and was a spectator, what impressed him about the demonstration. He answered, "No capitalist country could risk arming the workers. With my own eyes I see that this is a workers' state. Here the workers not only own and run the factories, but have the weapons to defend their labor."

CIA Lie

WEST European radio listeners are in for some unpleasanties. So, at any rate, says the Associated Press. On July 11 this, American news agency warned that Soviet trawlers with pirate stations on board would soon appear in the coastal waters of the North and Mediterranean seas. Instead of fishing, they would be jamming other stations. And they would be hard to discover because they would not lie at anchor in any one place but cruise outside territorial waters.

The AP is so well informed that it even knows where these terrible trawlers will get their transmitting apparatus. In the German Democratic Republic, it says, it also knows that

these pirate stations will operate on frequencies of up to 1,400 kilocycles.

New Times has asked officials of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Fisheries to comment on this AP report. They characterized it as slander, pure and simple.

Soviet fishing trawlers and refrigerator ships are indeed built in the G.D.R. They are naturally equipped with radio apparatus. The range of frequencies conforms to the international regulations for navigational services.

All the radio equipment on board the Soviet trawlers is registered with the International Telecommunication Union. The operation of this equipment is controlled and the Soviet fishing fleet has never been accused of radio piracy.

It was also learned at the Ministry of Fisheries that similar radio equipment is installed on board trawlers and whaling factory ships built for the Soviet Union by Howaldtswerke in Kiel (West Germany).

Where did the AP get its information? The agency quotes Rundschau am Sonntag, a small Sunday paper published in Cologne. And this paper, in its turn, claims that it got the story from CIA agents who learned about it all in the Polish port of Gdansk.

Isn't it a roundabout way to get a story? Instead of giving the "sensational" news direct to the American press, Central Intelligence Agency men passed it for some reason to a little West German sheet. AP men read it there and broadcast it throughout the world on the same day. But there is hardly any mystery about it. The CIA fable would look more verisimilar if it first appeared in the European press which could then be quoted by a staid American news agency. The trick didn't work. It has merely exposed the story as another CIA lie.

V.R.

FOREIGN REPORT

Spies by the thousands: report from Germany

ESPIONAGE CAN HARDLY be described as the ideal form of contact between peoples, but it has become so much a part of life in Germany today that its citizens have come almost to take it for granted. Dr. Horst Worsner, a lawyer specializing in spies, said recently, "a divided postwar Germany continues to be in the center of the tug-of-war between the victorious powers and furnishes the soil for an intelligence jungle that sometimes confuses even those in the know." Who works for whom, or for what reasons, may be as difficult to determine as a clear definition of what constitutes treason. When the fatherland is split, which fatherland is a German betraying? Theoretically, if not politically, he has a right to serve either. It is common knowledge that for years the East German regime has used the refugee channel to smuggle agents with long-term assignments to the other side. Under the circumstances, even the most legitimate political refugee has to appear suspect. The so-called "atom spy" Harald Gottfried, who came across in '55 at the age of twenty, told his interrogators in the refugee camp that he had wanted to escape the East German draft, "because I would never have worn the uniform of those who put my father into prison." His father, a former Nazi, had been convicted for minor shenanigans to eight years hard labor. His mother fled to the West before he did. But Gottfried was already such a convinced Communist that East Germany's *Staatssicherheitsdienst* (Secret State Service) selected him as a *Perspektiv-Spion*, a spy for the future. On orders from his superiors at Karlshorst, East Berlin, he studied en-

gineering in the West and subsequently joined the staff of West Germany's most advanced nuclear-reactor project in Karlsruhe. It took West German counterintelligence fourteen years to catch up with him. He was certainly not repentant in court; he told the judge that assignments like his were not only honorable, but "evidence of a special trust."

Dieter Joachim Haase, thirty-three, another long-term agent, was caught in Würzburg last year. He had just completed a doctoral thesis on the *Bundeswehr* with Professor Friedrich August von der Heydte who, as a former paratroop general in the old *Wehrmacht*, had many close associates in the upper echelons of the *Bundeswehr* staff. The court which tried Haase found that he, too, "had been selected by the Secret Service of the GDR [German Democratic Republic, or East Germany] in 1960 to prepare himself for a high government post in West Germany through the completion of legal studies."

Men like Haase and Gottfried run little risk. Through their activities in the espionage services in the West, they advance their eventual careers in the East. If they are caught, they are quickly exchanged for an undetermined number of West German agents or political prisoners, depending on the importance either of the regimes attaches to such people. Sometimes the exchange is one man for three, or more. Many agents who are caught do not even get to trial; they are exchanged before the public ever hears of their existence. West Germany's Interior Minister, Hans-Dieter Genscher, remarked, "spying is in danger of becoming a cavalier crime with little risk attached," but he is powerless against the practice. West Germany's intelligence services are people who East Germany for hard cash. The standard price for a person with no partic-

ular political debt to either side, who wants to join his family in the West, is about \$12,000. Sufficient numbers of people are purchased in this manner every year to make the take a respectable item in East Germany's balance of payments with the West, I was told.

Meanwhile, West German counterintelligence officials admit that there is simply no way for them to stop the continuous infiltration of East German agents. According to their estimates anywhere between 13,000 and 15,000 East German spies are active at all levels of West Germany's administration, in private industry, at universities, and in the armed forces. Every year about 2,000 of them are unmasked, but, as a confidential report noted recently, "the total remains constant through the arrival of new elements." The main reason for the facility with which East Germany can replenish its intelligence services in the West is to be found, of course, in the language and cultural background that they share. Western authorities have not put great obstacles in their way, either. An East German can still travel to the West simply by getting on the elevated S-Bahn in Berlin and leaving it at an unguarded station in one of the Allied sectors. Armed with a false West German passport, he can then emplane at Tempelhof airport for any city in West Germany.

IN VIEW OF THE POLITICALLY heterogeneous backgrounds that are the norm rather than the exception for officials, it is practically impossible to establish firm criteria by which to judge them as security risks. Few Western officials are without some sort of family link in the past. Many did not themselves escape German immigrants. The highest ranking officer of the *Bundeswehr*, for in-

23 MAY 1971

STATINTL

Expatriate Chess On the Other Side Of the Wall

By EARL SHORRIS

STATINTL

Communists are in duty bound not to gloss over the shortcomings in their movement, but to criticize them openly so as to remedy them the more speedily and radically.

—V. I. LENIN

Collected Works, Vol. 31

NO one dreams of East Germany any more; it was not the answer. Anyway, there is a New Left now, with different dreams. East Germany has become that place behind the wall where bombed-out buildings harbor dreary little fictional spies. And the chief dreamer, Gerhart Eisler, archetypal revolutionary of the Old Left, prince of bail jumpers, mastermind of defections, is gone now, dead shortly before the dawning of the Age of Aquarius.

But East Germany is real. Industrial output increases; the wall grows toward adolescence; Moscow, Bonn and Berlin negotiate; the bombed-out buildings are replaced by precast concrete honeycombs; Socialist planning decrees wide, empty streets, and a tiny group of editors and writers from the West lives on in East Berlin. They are growing old now, these East Berliners who remember the West. There are widows and widowers among them. They are weary visionaries. Their hopes have been scarred by purges, the non-aggression pact, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the N.K.V.D., the K.G.B.; but they remain in East Berlin—proof, perhaps, of the durability of dreams.

The dream is vacant. Where is everyone? At work. The empty streets are the result of full employment. Gray is the color of full employment. The sound of Socialist planning is quiet. A surly city behind a wall. The ordinary people of East Berlin may not cross that wall until

they are 60 years old. It was built to contain the human resources of the German Democratic Republic, a monument to the quality of life in the G.D.R.

AMONG those few who may cross the wall are the dreamers who came from the West to build Socialism. Hilde Eisler, widow of Gerhart, has just returned from Paris. In 1947, when she and Gerhart lived in Queens and in court, Life magazine called her "the beauteous Brunhilde." She was the romance in the Eisler case: a Polish Jew, she had worked in the underground for three years before she and Eisler fled to Mexico to escape the Gestapo. The years in East Germany have been like brine on her beauty. The editor in chief of Das Magazin, the most popular magazine in East Germany, is a measuring woman; her steps are precise, the degree of fashion in her clothes and the shape of her eyeglasses have been planned. Coffee is served; if one guest will not drink coffee, then no one will drink anything.

"I was three years in the underground," she says, as if to offer an explanation. It is the only explanation she offers to anyone. When her husband died, people she had known for years tried to comfort her, to be close, but she rejected them, preferring to remain alone. Her reputation is for such toughness; it is in her manner and in her eyes. There must be limits to what one person can know before the eyes refuse to see any more.

That is an unfair judgment. There are vulnerabilities yet. She asks about those members of the Old Left who stayed in America. They are published in Das Magazin, paid in hard currency. Life is difficult for them in America. Couldn't they move to East Berlin? "Don't be naive," she answers. "How would they live?"

She laughs. "We haven't got Communism yet. Writers must sell their work. If it's popular, they get a lot of money. They must negotiate with publishers. To make a living in the G.D.R. a writer must work very hard. For the free artist it is no different here than in the West."

She prefers to talk about the magazine. "We have a paper shortage. We can't print enough copies. When the magazine comes out, you must have a friend at the newsstand to get a copy. He will hide it underneath for you. That's why you never see it on the newsstands."

"This is one reason why the magazine is so popular," she says, opening a copy to a photograph of a naked girl. "Every issue we publish a picture of a naked girl. The people open right at this page. The girls are naked, but it is artful, not obscene." She smiles. "These are the only pictures of naked girls published in the Socialist countries."

She thumbs through the rest of the issue. There is a translation of a story by Damon Runyon, a poem by Oscar Wilde, a story, an art feature, a music feature, a bit of propaganda, a color spread of a pretty girl in a white net bikini posing on rocks, a bit of Egyptian archaeology, a cartoon reprinted from The New Yorker, another cheesecake photograph and a page of classified ads. There are full-page ads for perfume, cameras, cosmetics and dairy products. The stories are short and the paper is poor except for the slick pages on which the cheesecake is printed, but the magazine strives toward an atmosphere of affluent liberalism. It is sophisticated, in touch with the West; the editor has just returned from Paris. Outside the window of her office one can see a park, the Brandenburg Gate and the wall. It is a wall for them, not for her. She has been a Communist for more than 30 years.

She was married for 26 years to

EARL SHORRIS wrote "The Death of the Great Spirit, an Elegy for the American Indian," published in 1968.

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A Name Like Dulles Can Help ---Or Hinder

By JOAN McKINNEY
Tribune Staff Writer

Eleanor Lansing Dulles looks so much like her late brother, former Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, that it's almost uncanny.

There is the same high forehead, the beating eyebrows, the somewhat prominent eyes behind thick glasses, the slash of a mouth that turns down at the corners.

And when she talks about Germany, which has been her special sphere of interest since 1922, Eleanor Dulles demonstrates that same mental capacity that led her grandfather, her uncle and her brother into this country's top State Department jobs.

SHE WAS doing this Monday afternoon before an audience of women at the brand new Skyline Community Church, under the sponsorship of Youth for Understanding, a student foreign exchange program for which Miss Dulles has become a consultant.

Miss Dulles — or Dr. Dulles, as she was introduced (she holds degrees from Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe and the London School of Economics), was serving on the State Department's German desk in 1944, long before her brother became Secretary. So there wasn't any nepotism involved in her career.

Quite the contrary, in fact. "My brothers certainly never helped me a bit," said the forthright woman in a brief chat after her talk, "but in Germany I admit that being a Dulles did give me some advantage."

Occasionally, though, possession of such a well-known name was a hindrance. As Miss Dulles told the ladies: "They have a dossier on me

in East Germany. I understand I was directly responsible for the 1953 revolt, and that I also personally built the CIA's tunnel that ran from West Berlin under the Wall to below the East Berlin telephone headquarters."

ON THE OTHER hand, when she visited the church in Wittenberg, where Martin Luther is buried, the East German agents shadowing her evidently reported her concern over its dilapidation. She later learned that, immediately following her visit, the government had come up with much needed funds for repairs.

Though Eleanor Dulles has not been in the limelight to the extent of her brothers Foster and Alan, she has not exactly been blushing unseen all her life, either.

She has authored more than 12 books. Her latest, "1 Germany or 2," was published just six weeks ago. But she really isn't interested in talking about them. "I lose interest as soon as I've read proof," she confessed.

She has taught at her alma maters of Bryn Mawr and Radcliffe, at Duke University, at Stanford at the Center for Strategic International Studies, and at George Washington University in Washington.

And she also taught the group of students who traveled to Europe last summer on the Youth for Understanding program.

"I DON'T like ships unless I can run them," Dr. Dulles announced disarmingly, "but the idea, so I had to content myself with lecturing the stu-



Tribune photo by Jim Edelen

Eleanor Lansing Dulles bears a famous name—and a remarkably familiar face

dents on foreign policy.

"After all, if we don't reach our young people before they get set into rigid political molds, we don't stand a chance."

Today's German youth, Miss Dulles noted, "takes its lessons from Berkeley," and the age level of political leaders there "has gone down notably."

As for the women, well, "they have not broken loose the way they ought to — but it is coming."

AT THAT, she added after a moment's pause, "I am not so sure that American women do."

"Women have not had good chances in any of our departments except Labor and maybe Health and Welfare," she said. "There are very few in the State Department, and I only got a good rank and salary because I maneuvered a little bit, and did things that men would not think worth doing."

Even so, Eleanor Dulles does not really hold with the militant tactics of the women's liberation movement.

"There is a certain basis and provocation for it," she said, "but I am not willing to go to the barricades for that kind of thing."